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Report of Interrogation: No. 5885

6 December 1945  
I/O: Capt. HALL

P/W : HILGER, Gustav.  
Rank : Counsellor of Embassy  
Unit : Foreign Office  
Capt'd: 19 May 1945, Salzburg.

Veracity: Believed reliable.

Report : Answer to Periodic Intelligence Questionnaire, MIS Sept.-Oct. 1945

Question USSR # 14: How much reliance is placed on the United Nations security organization as compared with bilateral alliances and military preparedness to protect the position of the Soviet Union?

Answer # 14: The Soviet Government bases its view on the philosophy that the policies of the capitalistic-bourgeois states are dictated by the wealthy classes or by their underlings. It lists all nations of the world except the Soviet Union itself among them. It presupposes that the existence of the only state, which has inscribed the rule by the common man on its banner, is a thorn in the eye of these wealthy classes. The deep suspicion which the Soviet Government has shown to the outside world from its beginning, and which still exists undiminished, in spite of the brotherhood-in-arms with the powerful Allied nations, is a result of this view. The expressions of this suspicion were temporarily softened by the existence of common political or military interests and goals. The suspicion itself, however, cannot disappear, because it is too deeply rooted and constantly received new nourishment from daily events.

During the first phase of its existence, the Soviet Government seriously believed in the immediate outbreak of world revolution and in securing the leading role for itself throughout the world. After the collapse of these hopes, it resolved to build the future by its own powers alone and to make the Soviet Union independent from the outside world in the shortest possible time. The Soviet Government has adhered faithfully to this principle up until now and will no doubt do the same in the future.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government tried hard to enter into political and economic relations with all nations in the world, from the very beginning, as it hoped thus to strengthen its position and gain other advantages. Foreign trade with other countries helped essentially to further the industrialization as well as the armament. The Soviet Government, however, made no concessions - such as the acknowledgement of pre-war debts or the use of foreign monopolies - to other nations, not even in its darkest hours. By hard-necked perseverance and clever utilization of competition among the capitalistic nations of the world, it always has very successfully pursued its point of view in such questions.

The political and economic independence of the Soviet Union from the rest of the world was the most important goal of its government.

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Therefore, there is no pact which can be called an alliance under International law, under the numerous treaties and pacts, which the Soviet Government concluded with other states between 1920 and 1941. The Soviet Government has always avoided entering into obligations which could result in a limitation of its freedom of movement and decision. The failure of the Moscow conference with Great Britain and France for a military alliance in summer 1939 and the agreement on the Russo-German NON-AGGRESSION PACT of 23 August 1939 are significant examples of this policy.

The Soviet Government which as shown trusted only its own strength and considered collective security as additional, auxiliary means, when it felt weaker than it does today, will now be even more so disposed in the confidence of being at the zenith of its military power.

For more than two decades, the Soviet Government lived in permanent fear of encirclement. It can no longer rid itself of the idea that cooperation and agreements between other nations are directed against Soviet interests. Evidence of this can be found in Molotov's address of 6 November 1945. In a tone which showed the suspicion and disgust of the Soviet Government he raised his voice against the "consolidation of groups or blocks of nations which have special goals in foreign policy". He seems to think that the world has forgotten that he asserted that the Soviet Government never participated in actions directed against its peace-loving neighbours. He also would not like to be reminded that the official Soviet News Agency "TASS" remarked in a statement published in spring 1941 before the German attack on the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union had not yet entered the Three Power Pact, a remark which, obviously, was to point to the fact that the Soviet Government would be ready to enter into this pact to maintain friendly Russo-German relations.

The idea behind Molotov's statement on the consolidation of groups of nations became clear when he began to reminisce historically, and said, "Attempts at such blocks have been made several times before in the west. The anti-soviet character of certain groups is well known enough from the past. In any case the history of blocks and groups of the Western powers shows that they did not intend to restrain the aggressors, but on the contrary, encouraged aggression, especially in the case of Germany".

The old suspicion of the Soviet Government finds its expression in Molotov's words: "Therefore the vigilance of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving nations cannot be allowed to relax in this direction. The restitution of world peace must not lead to a restitution of international relations such as those which existed before the war".

Molotov's address leaves no doubt that the treatment of questions connected with the atomic bomb has increased the suspicions of the Soviet Government. His statements on the impossibility of keeping the secret of producing atomic bombs and of keeping in the possession of one power, or that of a close circle of nations, ends in remarks with a threatening undertone: "We will have atomic energy and a lot of other things like it."

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From all this it can be deduced that the Soviet Government does not have confidence in an international security organization and its ability to safeguard the Soviet Union. It sees security primarily in its own military strength, which it will increase by all the means at its disposal. It believed bilateral pacts to be auxiliary means, to be concluded especially with its satellite states, to whom it can dictate terms and whose forces they can use in their own way for their own aims.

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